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FIFTH REPUBLIC MOVEMENT: PROGRAM OF POLITICAL ACTION

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POLITICAL ACTION PLAN

## SUMMARY AND INTRODUCTION

1. FOLLOWING IS A TRANSLATION OF THE POLITICAL ACTION PLAN FOR THE FIFTH REPUBLIC MOVEMENT (MVR), HUGO CHAVEZ'S POLITICAL PARTY. THIS DOCUMENT, ENTITLED "FIFTH REPUBLIC MOVEMENT: PROGRAM OF POLITICAL ACTION," WAS PROMULGATED IN JANUARY 1998 AND FORMED THE BASIS OF MVR INTERNAL POLITICAL DEBATES AND DISCUSSIONS WITH OTHER PARTIES WHICH EVENTUALLY LED TO THE MVR'S ELECTORAL ALLIANCES WITH THE HOMELAND FOR ALL PARTY (PPA) AND THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS SOCIALISM PARTY (MAS). POLITICAL BARGAINING AND PRESSURE HAVE CHANGED SOME OF THE PROGRAM OUTLINED IN THIS DOCUMENT. HOWEVER, ITS CORE PRECEPTS ARE STILL VISIBLE IN CHAVEZ'S "PROPOSAL TO TRANSFORM VENEZUELA," HIS MOST RECENT CAMPAIGN PLATFORM DOCUMENT (SEPTELS). THE MVR PROGRAM OF POLITICAL ACTION WILL PROVIDE ANALYSTS A USEFUL BASELINE FROM WHICH TO MEASURE CHAVEZ'S POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE IDEOLOGICAL PRECEPTS WHICH MVR DEVELOPED AS IT MIGRATED FROM THE POLITICAL WILDERNESS TO ITS CURRENT LEADING POSITION IN THE PRESIDENTIAL POLLS.

2. THE TRANSLATION IS AS FAITHFUL AS POSSIBLE TO THE ORIGINAL SPANISH. HOWEVER, WE HAVE SOUGHT TO MAKE THE RHETORIC UNDERSTANDABLE IN ENGLISH. NEVERTHELESS, THERE ARE SOME PASSAGES WHICH DEFIED SMOOTH TRANSLATION BECAUSE THEY WERE INCOMPREHENSIBLE IN SPANISH AND IN ENGLISH. END SUMMARY.

3. BEGIN ENGLISH TEXT.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
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THE PATH TOWARD THE CHANGES AND TRANSFORMATION THAT THE COUNTRY DEMANDS IN ORDER TO OVERCOME THE CURRENT SITUATION OF CRISIS IN WHICH WE ARE LIVING, DEMANDS A PROGRAM THAT FORESEES, IN A VIABLE, RATIONAL MANNER, THE DISTINCT SOLUTIONS THAT SHOULD BE PUT INTO PRACTICE IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THAT TRANSFORMATION. THE COMMITMENT OF THE MOVEMENT OF THE FIFTH REPUBLIC TRANSLATES INTO THIS PROGRAM OF POLITICAL ACTION THROUGH A FORMATION OF BASIC GUIDELINES THAT TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION THE FUNDAMENTAL POLITICAL FCCJ OF OUR NATION, AND CONSTITUTES A NEW MODEL FOR ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT FOR VENEZUELA.

## PROBLEMATIC ISSUES:

IT IS NECESSARY TO DEFINE THE ISSUES WHICH ARE OF A FUNDAMENTALLY PROBLEMATIC CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE EXERCISE OF A NEW MODEL OF ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT FOR VENEZUELA.

1. MORAL ETHOLOGY: CORRUPTION, MARCO-TRAFFICKING, ETC.
2. CRITICAL POVERTY: SOCIAL CRISIS, SECURITY AND SOCIAL SERVICES, THRESHOLD OF SUBHUMAN LIFE, HIGH COST OF LIVING, DOWNWARD SPIRAL OF REAL SALARY, ETC.
3. DENATIONALIZATION: THE EXTERNAL DEBT, OPENING OF THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY, PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC ENTERPRISES

## GENERAL OBJECTIVE:

WE PLACE A PRIMARY FOCUS ON BASIC HUMAN NECESSITIES. WITH THESE AS STARTING AND FINISHING POINTS AND TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THE PROBLEMATIC ISSUES MENTIONED, WE MAY SUMMARIZE OUR GENERAL OBJECTIVE IN THE FOLLOWING WAY: "RAISING IN THE SHORT-RUN THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THE VENEZUELAN POPULATION ABOVE THAT OF THE BARE MINIMUM, PROVIDING FOR PHYSICAL NECESSITIES (NUTRITION, HEALTH, CLOTHING, ETC.), SOCIAL NECESSITIES (SECURITY, HOUSING, EQUALITY, ETC.), CULTURAL NECESSITIES (EDUCATION, SPORTS, RECREATION, ETC.), AND POLITICAL NECESSITIES (LIBERTY, INCLUSION, ETC.); WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CONTRIBUTING TO THE REAFFIRMATION OF OUR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND RESTORING OUR SOVEREIGNTY."

## STRATEGIC POINTS:

IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THIS GENERAL OBJECTIVE, THE FIFTH REPUBLIC PROJECT (FVR) ANSWERS THE QUESTION, "HOW WILL WE ACHIEVE THIS?", WITH THE EXAMINATION OF 10 CENTRAL STRATEGIC ISSUES:

1. THE CONSTITUENCY PROCESS
2. THE ROLE OF THE STATE
3. POLITICS OF OIL: INTERNALIZATION
4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY: PROPERTY AND MEASURES OF PRODUCTIVE MECHANISMS
5. CULTURE, EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY
6. FOREIGN DEBT: RENEGOTIATION, NEGOTIATED MORATORIUM
7. MACROECONOMIC EQUILIBRIUM: MIXED SELECTIVE AND EXPANSIVE ECONOMIC POLICIES
8. SOCIAL EQUILIBRIUM: SATISFACTION OF BASIC NECESSITIES
9. PRODUCTION STIMULATION
10. ECOLOGICAL EQUILIBRIUM

THROUGH THESE STRATEGIC ISSUES, A REHEWING FUSION IS CONSTRUCTED THAT REVIVES THE BASIC CONCEPT OF SUSTAINED GROWTH, WITH A FUNDAMENTALLY INTERNAL FOCUS, BASED ON STRENGTHENING THE NATIONAL POWER "FROM WITHIN AND FOR WITHIN".

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1. THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESSCARACA 03282 00 OF 11 301648Z 011050 5039438  
C. THE CONCEPTUAL JUDICIARY: THE PROGRAMATIC CONTENT OF THE NEW  
CONSTITUTION OF THE FIFTH REPUBLIC

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS, AS THE CENTRAL OBJECTIVE OF OUR POLITICAL PROJECT, IS DEFINED BY THREE FUNDAMENTAL FOCAL POINTS:

## A. THE POLITICAL PRACTICE: THE REAL POWER OF THE CONSTITUTION

WE WILL CONSTRUCT A REPUBLIC IN WHICH A HUMAN BEING WOULD HAVE HIS RIGHTS RESPECTED, HIS NECESSITIES CARED FOR, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIS CAPABILITIES STIMULATED; A SOCIETY THAT GUARANTEES EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITIES; A SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SECURITY BASED ON SOLIDARITY AND NOT ON CHARITY; AN EFFECTIVE JUDICIAL SYSTEM THAT ADMINISTERS JUSTICE IN AN IMPARTIAL, APPROPRIATE, AND TRUSTWORTHY MANNER; A STATE MECHANISM, SEPARATED FROM HYPERTROPHIC INEFFICIENCY, THAT IS MARKED BY EFFICIENCY, CAPABILITY, AND MERITOCRACY; A STATE THAT ERADICATED CLIENTELISM AND PATRONAGE.

IN THE SEARCH FOR THIS OBJECTIVE IN DAILY POLITICAL PRACTICE, WE MUST UNITE, ORGANIZE, AND ELEVATE THE CONSCIOUSNESS AND THE SPIRIT OF THE STRUGGLE IN THE VENEZUELAN PEOPLE. THE PUR PURSUES THE CREATION OF PATRIOTIC CONSTITUTIONAL CIRCUITS THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THIS POLITICAL GOAL: TO BEGIN BUILDING A REAL

CONSTITUTIONAL POWER IN THE STREETS THAT TODAY OPPOSES CONTINUAL FRAUD AND TOMORROW DEFENDS. BLOCK BY BLOCK - VILLAGE BY VILLAGE, ALL THE PATRIOTIC AND DEMOCRATIC MEASURES ESTABLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE FIFTH REPUBLIC. THE EXERCISE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL POWER OF THE PEOPLE IS ONE OF THEIR INNERMOST POWERS. IT IS A FUNCTION OF DEMOCRACY TO AFFIRM THE DEVELOPMENT AND THE STRENGTHENING OF THE LOCAL POWER OF THE CONSTITUTION, AS A LEGITIMATE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL AND RESPONSIBILITY OF THE CITIZENS. TO PUT THIS INTO PRACTICE, WE NEED THE INVOLVEMENT OF ALL VENEZUELANES.

## B. THE ELECTORAL JUDICIARY: THE WAY TO CONVENE THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY

THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION, BASED ON THE CONCEPT OF REPRESENTATION, HAS THE FLAW OF KEEPING THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS AS A FUNDAMENTAL PILLAR. THIS HAS MARRED US TO A DEAF POLITICAL SYSTEM, DIVORCED COMPLETELY FROM THE NEEDS OF THE COLLECTIVE. THE PARTIES THAT HAVE TAKEN CHARGE OF THE STATE HAVE LOST THEIR LEGITIMACY AND EXPRESS THEMSELVES IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE. THEY STOPPED BEING INTERPRETERS FOR THE POPULAR COLLECTIVE SOME TIME AGO. THE EXHAUSTION OF THE VARIOUS PARTIES AND THEIR PROGRAMS AND THE SEPARATION OF THEIR LEADERS FROM THE PEOPLE, EMERGES THE UNTIL NOW, SO-CALLED "DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM". IT IS TIME TO RETURN TO THE NATION ITS SOVEREIGNTY BY MAKING THE POWER OF THE CONSTITUTION A REALITY.

THE CIVIL SOCIETY OF THE VAST MAJORITY OF VENEZUELANES HAS BEEN SUBORDINATED BY THE POLITICAL POWER OF POLITICAL PARTIES. A SMALL MINORITY THAT HAS SQUANDERED NOT ONLY OUR WEALTH, BUT ALSO THE EXERCISE OF THE POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY. THE RIGID CHARACTER OF THE

CURRENT CONSTITUTION (1961) STATES THAT THE INITIATIVE OF THE CONVOCAION OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY SHOULD COME FROM AT LEAST ONE THIRD OF THE MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OR FROM THE ABSOLUTE MAJORITY OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES OF THE STATES. SO, BECAUSE OF ITS RIGIDITY, IN ORDER TO OBTAIN A MAJORITY OF VOTES TO PROCLAIM THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, THE EMERGENCE OF THIS INITIATIVE MUST BE MADE POSSIBLE BY THE PARLIAMENT AND THE LEGISLATURE. FURTHERMORE, WE CLEARLY INTEND TO PRESENT THE CERTAIN OPPORTUNITY TO CALL FOR A REFERENDUM, AS AN EXERCISE OF POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY. WHAT THE PEOPLE MAY WANT, THROUGH CLEAN

ELECTIONS, WHICH WOULD BE CALLED FOR BY A MAJORITY, IS THE CONVOCAION OF A NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY.

IN THE DESIGN OF A GENUINELY PARTICIPATIVE DEMOCRACY IT IS INDISPENSABLE THAT EACH CITIZEN PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE. THUS, THE CONVOCAION OF THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY IS URGENTLY NEEDED IN ORDER TO CREATE A SOVEREIGN SPACE IN WHICH WE CAN DEMONSTRATE OUR CAPACITY TO SHAPE A NORMATIVE CONSTITUTION THAT WOULD BE THE EXPRESSION OF THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY OF THE CITIZENS OF VENEZUELA, THAT WOULD BE THE FRAMEWORK, FLOOR, AND SUPPORT A PROGRAM OF STRUCTURAL CHANGES THAT, TODAY SEEM UNDELAY-ABEE. THIS WOULD BE A COHERENT CONSTITUTIONAL BODY THAT WILL STIMULATE THE PARTICIPATION AND ACTIVE ROLE OF EACH VENEZUELAN IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FIFTH REPUBLIC, ONE THAT WILL BE TRULY DEMOCRATIC AND PATRIOTIC AND WILL RESPECT THE DIVERSITY OF OPINIONS AND THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES WHILE AT THE SAME TIME

RESCUING NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE.

ARTICLE IV OF THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION ESTABLISHES THAT SOVEREIGNTY RESIDES WITH THE PEOPLE AND ALSO ESTABLISHES THAT IT SHOULD BE EXERCISED THROUGH SUFFRAGE, THROUGH THE VOTE, WHICH IS THE EXPRESSION OF THE INDIVIDUAL WILL. IN THIS WAY, THE PEOPLE EXERCISE THEIR WILL AND THEIR WILL IS EXPRESSED, AMONG OTHER WAYS, IN THE CREATION OF ENTITIES THAT ASSUME THE FUNCTIONS OF THE STATE AND HOLD THE PUBLIC POWER. ENTITIES OF PUBLIC POWER MUST NECESSARILY ARISE FROM A CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS THAT LEADS TO A NEW TEXT. FOR WITHOUT SUCH ENTITIES, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE NEITHER TO EXERCISE NOR EXPRESS THE WILL OF THE STATE, NOR ALSO TO ACCOMPLISH THE DUTIES THAT BELONG TO THE GOVERNMENT. AND, AS WELL AS SUFFRAGE, IT IS ENOUGH THAT THE PEOPLE EXPRESS THEMSELVES THROUGH VOTING OR WHATEVER MIGHT BE THE FORM THAT THEY USE, IN ORDER TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY RESIDES IN THEMSELVES. THE DEMAND OF SUFFRAGE IS TO SEEK TO FULFILL AND PAY ATTENTION TO THE OPINION THAT EACH ONE EXPRESSES IN THE PROCESS OF FORMING A SOCIAL WILL, WHICH IS POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY.

THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION ESTABLISHES AND SANCTIONS THE REASONS TO CONSIDER THE INVALIDATING THE CONSTITUTION AS BEING ARBITRARY OR ILLEGAL. WE ESPECIALLY WANT TO MENTION ONE SUCH REASON ... "TO ABOLISH THE CONSTITUTION AT ANY TIME, REGARDLESS OF WHO CALLS FOR IT." OUR PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY, AS PART OF AN ELECTORAL PROPOSAL (REFERENDUM) SEEKS TO ESTABLISH A POLITICAL, SOCIAL, AND JURIDICAL LINK OR BOND BETWEEN THE ELECTORAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL. AMONG THE CHANGES PROPOSED IN OUR GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAM, WITH CANDIDATE NUCO GHAVEZ FRIAS AS THE HEAD, IS THE PROPOSAL FOR A NATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL ASSEMBLY. IT IS NOT ABOUT, THEREFORE, A VIOLENT, EXTRA-INSTITUTIONAL RUPTURE OF THE

CURRENT CONSTITUTION. WE MUST EXPLAIN THIS EVERY TIME WE SPEAK PUBLICALLY.

THIS IS ABOUT AN ESSENTIALLY POLITICAL PROBLEM, NOT A JUDICIAL ONE. WE RECOGNIZE THE NECESSITY THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS BE THE MANIFESTATION OF THE GENUINE WILL OF THE PEOPLE, SUGGESTED BY THE MAJORITY WITHOUT THE INFLUENCE OF FRAUD, CORRUPTION, OR VIOLENCE. THIS SHOULD BE AN EXPRESSION OF A CIVIL SOCIETY, OF A UNITED PEOPLE, DIFFERENT PEOPLE IN DIFFERENT SOCIAL STRATA BOUND TOGETHER ECONOMICALLY, SOCIALLY, POLITICALLY, AND CULTURALLY.

## 2. THE ROLE OF THE STATE

THE PUR REJECTS THE IDEOLOGICAL PREMISE THAT WITH THE STRUCTURAL OBJECTIVES OF THE PRESENT STATE AND THE VICES AND SUBJECTIVE INCAPABILITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT IN POWER, IT IS ABSOLUTELY IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE PUR TO ACCOMPLISH THE STRATEGIC PLANS EXPOUNDED HERE. FOR THESE REASONS WE WILL IMPOSE NOT A SIMPLE, NEO-LIBERAL REDUCTION OF THE SIZE OF GOVERNMENT, BUT A TOTAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE EXISTING GOVERNING APPARATUS INTO ONE WHICH IS

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TRULY DEMOCRATIC AND EFFICIENT, WITH A TRUE CAPACITY TO DIRECT IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE OF VENEZUELA, THE NEW DESTINY OF THE VENEZUELAN NATION. THE CURRENT STATE CAN NO LONGER BE REFORMED SUPERFICIALLY. IT IS ESSENTIAL TO REESTABLISH THE REPUBLIC WITH AN ENTIRELY NEW SYSTEM; ONE THAT MAKES REAL THE REAFFIRMATION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE, THE RESCUE OF OUR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, AND SATISFIES THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE VENEZUELAN PEOPLE.

IN THE COMPLETION OF ITS OBJECTIVES, WE WILL FORM THE FIFTH

REPUBLIC, WITH ITS PATRIOTIC DEMOCRACY IN ITS STRATEGIC PLAN (THE LONG RUN), IN ITS OPERATIONAL PLANS (MEDIUM TERM), AND, FINALLY, IN ITS SITUATIONAL, TACTICAL PLANS (SHORT RUN). THESE OBJECTIVES CAN BE SUMMARIZED BY THE FOLLOWING:

1). THE DESIGN AND EXECUTION OF A STRATEGIC, NATIONAL, PATRIOTIC, AND DEMOCRATIC FOCUS.

2). RESCUE NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY, DEFENSE AND GEOPOLITICS, WITH THE GOAL OF REAFFIRMING OUR TRUE INDEPENDENCE.

3). CONSERVATION AND MAINTENANCE OF MACROSOCIAL AND MACROECONOMIC EQUILIBRIA.

4). SOCIAL, PUBLIC, JURIDICAL, AND CIVIC SECURITY THAT GUARANTEES THE IMPLEMENTATION OF A POLICY AGAINST CRIME, DEMOCRATIC AND EDUCATED REDUCANIZATION OF THE POLICE FORCE, REAL DEPOLITICIZATION OF JUDICIAL POWER.

5). RESTRUCTURING AND EXTENSION OF PUBLIC SERVICES: WATER, ELECTRICITY, SEWAGE, GAS, TELEPHONE, REFUSE, RURAL ROUTES, ROADS, SIDEWALKS, ETC. THROUGH SPECIFIC MEDIUM AND SHORT TERM PROJECTS.

6). RESOLVE HEALTHCARE, EDUCATION, HOUSING, TRANSPORTATION, INFRASTRUCTURE, AND NUTRITION PROBLEMS IMMEDIATELY.

7). DEVELOP AND STEADILY PUSH FORWARD PROJECTS FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF CULTURE, COMMUNICATION, SCIENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY.

8). NEUTRALIZATION AND/OR ELIMINATION OF STRUCTURAL ABNORMALITIES THAT DEVELOP, ESPECIALLY IN TERMS OF PRICES, DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME, AND CONCENTRATION OF PROPERTY IN THE HANDS OF A FEW.

9). SANITARY REFORM THROUGH A NATIONAL, REGIONAL, AND LOCAL NETWORK OF PREVENTION AND TREATMENT. FREE MEDICINE AND MEDICAL ATTENTION FOR THE SECTORS IN MOST NEED, ESPECIALLY FOR ABANDONED, PREGNANT WOMEN, CHILDREN, AND THE ELDERLY.

## J. PETROLEUM AND ENERGY POLICY

THE NATIONAL PETROLEUM INDUSTRY IS BASED ON THE FOLLOWING ASSUMPTIONS:

1). OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL OF THE INDUSTRY IN THE HANDS OF THE STATE AND OF THE PEOPLE OF VENEZUELA.

2). INTERNALIZATION OF THE PETROLEUM, GAS, AND PETROCHEMICAL INDUSTRIES.

3). INTERNALLY GENERATED TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS THROUGH SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, SUCH AS ORIMULSION.

4). RATIONALIZATION AND COST CONTROL THESE ARE URGENT, HIGH PRIORITY STEPS THAT HAVE THE GOAL OF KEEPING THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY IN SYNC WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE STATE AND THE PEOPLE, SO THAT THE INDUSTRY WILL BE IN HARMONY WITH THE SEVERE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CRISES FACING THE NATION. WE MUST DESIGN MECHANISMS TO CHANGE FROM A PETROLEUM ECONOMY TO A PRODUCTIVE NATIONAL ECONOMY THAT PROMOTES THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDUSTRIES IN THE NON-PETROLEUM SECTOR, FOR EXAMPLE, MANUFACTURING AND AGRICULTURE.

TO "VENEZUELANIZE" THE PETROLEUM PRODUCTION IMPLIES A REDUCTION OF THE IRRATIONAL LEVEL OF COSTS OF PDVSA TO 15% OVER THE PER BARREL PRODUCTION COST. THIS RATIONALIZATION OF COST WILL NOT

NEGATIVELY INFLUENCE PRODUCTIVITY OF THE COMPANY AND WILL TRANSLATE INTO A SAVINGS OF ABOUT USD 1500 MILLION PER YEAR. GROWTH OF 10% OF PDVSA'S FISCAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE NATIONAL TREASURY WILL OCCUR THROUGH THE PARTIAL REDISTRIBUTION OF THE VALUE OF EXPORTS.

TO DOWNSIZE THE INVESTMENT PLAN FOR PDVSA IN LIGHT OF THE GREAT UNCERTAINTY OF THE FUTURE OF THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY AND OF THE GREAT CERTAINTY OF THE CURRENT CATASTROPHIC FISCAL SITUATION THE COUNTRY IS IN, WE WILL IMPOSE A COMPLETE RESTRUCTURING OF THE FUNDING PLAN FOR PETROLEUM INVESTMENT. ACCORDING TO THE EXISTING PLAN, PDVSA INTENDS TO INCREASE OIL PRODUCTION FROM 4.1 MILLION BARRELS PER DAY TO 6 MILLION PER DAY BETWEEN 1997 AND THE YEAR

2006. THIS WOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED THROUGH AN ASTRONOMICAL INVESTMENT OF USD 160 BILLION OF WHICH 50% WOULD BE MADE DIRECTLY BY THE PETROLEUM INDUSTRY. IN ORDER TO FULFILL THIS MEGAPLAN, PDVSA NEEDS TO INVEST USD 13 BILLION ANNUALLY.

THE REDUCTION IN SCOPE OF THE PLAN MAY BE BROUGHT ABOUT IN TWO WAYS:

1). REDUCE BY 20% THE LEVEL OF PLANNED INVESTMENTS, WHICH IS EQUIVALENT TO USD 1580 MILLION PER YEAR

2). THE TIME PERIOD ESTIMATED TO MAKE INVESTMENTS FROM TEN TO 15 YEARS, MAINTAINING THE SAME LEVEL OF INVESTMENT, WHICH WOULD REDUCE ANNUAL INVESTMENTS FROM USD 13 BILLION TO USD 12 BILLION.

IN CONCLUSION, THESE MEASURES OF RATIONALIZATION OF EXPENSES, COSTS, CONTRIBUTION, AND THE PLANS OF PDVSA WILL RESULT IN THE SHORT TERM SAVINGS OF APPROXIMATELY USD 12.6 BILLION - USD 13 BILLION PER YEAR. THESE SAVINGS WILL BE USED TO FINANCE PARTIALLY THE MODEL OF PRODUCTIVE ECONOMIC GROWTH OUTLINED IN THE PVR.

4. THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY: OWNERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT OF THE PRODUCTIVE APPARATUS

WE PROPOSE A SELF-DIRECTING, HUMANISTIC, SOCIO-ECONOMIC MODEL WHICH HAS PRODUCTIVE FUNDAMENTALS DESIGNED SCHEMATICALLY INTO FIVE SECTORS, WITH A FULL RANGE OF RULES FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF PROPERTY. THIS MODEL OF GROWTH LOOKS TO MINIMIZE THE COMPLETELY UNPRODUCTIVE USE OF THE SURPLUS, AND, CONSEQUENTLY, MAXIMIZE THE

LEVELS OF ACCUMULATION OF CAPITAL BY THE WORK FORCE.

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THE FIVE PRODUCTIVE SECTORS ARE THE FOLLOWING:

- A. BASIC AND STRATEGIC ENTERPRISES: PETROLEUM, IRON, ALUMINUM, ELECTRICITY, MINING, MILITARY HIGH TECHNOLOGY, WHICH HAS STATE OWNERSHIP.
- B. MASS CONSUMPTION GOODS: LIGHT INDUSTRY INCLUDING MANUFACTURING, CONSTRUCTION, AGROINDUSTRY, TRANSPORTATION, SMALL AND MEDIUM INDUSTRY, TOURISM, ETC. WHICH HAVE MIXED OWNERSHIP.
- C. SERVICES FOR THE BASIC NECESSITIES OF THE POPULATION

THAT THE STATE MUST PROVIDE: PRODUCTIVE SECTORS, SUCH AS EDUCATION, HEALTHCARE, CULTURE, SPORTS, AS WELL AS A SECTOR OF NON-PRODUCTIVE GOVERNMENTAL GENERATION OF NON-TRADEABLE SERVICES. LIKEWISE, THE OWNERSHIP WILL BE MIXED.

- D. BANKING AND FINANCE: ORIENTED TOWARD FINANCIAL INTERMEDIATION, WITH MIXED OWNERSHIP BUT CONTROLLED BY THE STATE.
- E. INDUSTRY AND PRIVATE PRODUCTION APPARATUS IN OTHER

AREAS: MANUFACTURING, LIGHT INDUSTRY, HEAVY INDUSTRY, IMPORTS, PRODUCTION OF NON-BASIC GOODS AND SERVICES (LUXURY GOODS, ETC.)

## 5. CULTURE, EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

THE PVR BEGINS FROM THE PREMISE THAT EDUCATION AND CULTURE, BEING

INTEGRATED PROCESSES, CONSTITUTE A MORAL AURA THAT SHOULD PERVADE THE ENTIRE SOCIAL SYSTEM.

THE HUMANITIES, SCIENCES, AND TECHNOLOGY, ALONG WITH EDUCATION AND CULTURE, HAVE BEEN CONVERTED INTO DIRECT FACTORS OF ECONOMIC PRODUCTION, OF POLITICAL POWER, AND OF DECISION MAKING BY BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE ADMINISTRATIONS. THE HUMANITIES, SCIENCES, TECHNOLOGY, CULTURE, AND EDUCATION SHOULD BE, TODAY AND EVEN MORE SO IN THE FUTURE, STRATEGIC COMPONENTS OF OUR POLITICAL PLAN. GIVEN THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF THIS STRATEGIC ISSUE, THE PVR ANNOUNCES A PLAN OF PUBLIC EDUCATION INSPIRED BY THE IDEAS OF SIMON RODRIGUEZ. SOME OF HIS POINTS INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

- A. CULTURE, EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY WOULD

INCLUDE FUNDAMENTAL IDEAS OF SIMON RODRIGUEZ IN TERMS OF THE WELL-BEING OF THE SOCIETY, HUMAN SOLIDARITY, AND ETHICAL AND POLITICAL VALUES.

- B. CULTURE, EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ARE INDISPENSABLE FOR REACHING THE GOAL OF SATISFYING THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE POPULATION. THEY ARE FUNDAMENTAL BUT AT THE SAME TIME VERY COSTLY. IT IS THE DUTY OF THE STATE TO PROVIDE SUFFICIENT RESOURCES TO ENSURE THAT THESE NEEDS ARE ADEQUATELY MET.

- C. DEMOCRATIZATION OF CULTURE, EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND

TECHNOLOGY WILL BE PLACED UNDER THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY AND NOT LEFT IN THE HANDS OF BUREAUCRATIC AND PRAGMATIC CIRCLES.

- D. LATINAMERICANIST ORIENTATION OF CULTURE, EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MUST BE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE

STRATEGY OF REESTABLISHING THE LATINAMERICAN NATION, IN ORDER TO MAXIMIZE OUR CAPABILITY TO RECOVER OUR SOVEREIGNTY AND INDEPENDENCE.

THE PVR SEEKS TO ATTACK, IN THE SHORT-RUN, THE DRAMATIC SITUATION IN WHICH VENEZUELAN IN GENERAL FIND THEMSELVES. OF THE APPROXIMATE TOTAL POPULATION OF 21 MILLION PEOPLE, 50% ARE CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS UNDER THE AGE OF 16; THAT IS, MORE THAN 10 MILLION PEOPLE ARE CHILDREN/YOUTH; 36% OF THE TOTAL POPULATION ARE ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE, THAT IS, 1.5 MILLION PEOPLE WORK FORCE; 14% OF THE TOTAL POPULATION ARE SENIOR CITIZENS, NEARLY 3 MILLION PEOPLE.

IN THIS SOCIAL SPECTRUM, THE MOST TROUBLING AREAS ARE THE CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENT SECTORS, IN WHICH THERE EXIST A STILL UNDETERMINED BUT GROWING PERCENTAGE OF INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE SYSTEM AND ARE STRUGGLING TO SURVIVE ALONG SIDE OF THOSE THAT ARE INCLUDED. THE PVR, THROUGH THE PLAN "SIMON RODRIGUEZ", FUNDAMENTALLY ATTACKS THE VULNERABILITIES OF THIS SECTOR THROUGH:

- A. A NATIONAL EDUCATION AID PROGRAM THAT WOULD INCLUDE

EVERYONE IN THE PROCESS, THROUGH SCHOOLS, WORK SHOPS, DIALOGUES, ETC.

- B. THE INTERNAL TRANSFORMATION OF THE PRESCHOOL, PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION SYSTEMS WHICH INCLUDES THE MAJORITY OF THE CHILDREN/ADOLESCENT SECTOR.

- C. INTENSIVE SCHOOLING, ORIENTED TOWARD PRODUCTION, IN

ORDER TO SECURE THE PROGRESS OF THE PRODUCTIVE MODEL. GIVEN THE PROFILE OF OUR WORK FORCE, IT IS URGENT THAT WE BEGIN THIS IMMEDIATELY.

THE STRATEGIC POLICY SHOULD FORM A PYRAMID CONSTRUCTED FROM THE BASE UP IN THE FOLLOWING ORDER:

- 1). BASIC LEVEL: THROUGH THE WORKSHOP, COMMUNITY SCHOOL DIRECTED TOWARDS 3.4 MILLION VENEZUELAN ILITERATE AND TO THE COMPLETION OF THE SIXTH GRADE).

- 2). TECHNICAL LEVEL: THROUGH THE CREATION OF TECHNICAL AND TRADE SCHOOLS AS GENERATORS OF THE ACTIVE HUMAN FORCE

POINT FOR STIMULATION OF THE ECONOMY. THIS WOULD BE DIRECTED TOWARDS 3.1 MILLION VENEZUELAN.

- 3). SUPERIOR LEVEL: DIRECTED TOWARDS THE SCIENCES AND THE

HUMANITIES.

REGARDLESS OF THE PLAN "SIMON RODRIGUEZ", WE MUST DESIGN AND PUT INTO ACTION A TOTAL NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM THAT BEGINS BEFORE SCHOOL AND DOES NOT END IN SCHOOL. RATHER, THE SYSTEM SHOULD TRANSCEND SCHOOL BY PLACING ITSELF INTO THE VERY FABRIC OF SOCIETY, IN ITS MORAL VALUES, NATIONAL IDENTITY, HISTORY, REALITY, AND UTOPIAN IDEALS. AT ITS HIGHEST LEVEL, THE NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM SHOULD TEND TOWARD THE CREATION OF AN ENDOGENOUS POLICY OF HUMANITIES, SCIENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY THAT GIVES PRIORITY TO "USEFUL SCIENCE", THAT IS, THE SCIENCE OF TRANSFORMATION. FINALLY, INSTEAD OF NEOLIBERAL PRETENSES OF PRIVATIZING THE EDUCATION SYSTEM, THAT WOULD CONVERT IT INTO YET ANOTHER MARKET, THE PVR CLAIMS THAT PUBLIC EDUCATION, FREE AND MANDATORY, IS A FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT OF ALL VENEZUELAN.

6. THE FOREIGN DEBT

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REGARDING THE ISSUE OF THE FOREIGN DEBT, IT CAN BE NOTED THAT  
THE PREVAILING POSITION MAINTAINED BY THE STATE TO THIS DAY  
WAVERS BETWEEN:

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BUT IN THE MOST MODERATE OF CASES, IT WILL GENERATE APPROXIMATELY  
USD 11 BILLION ANNUALLY, WHICH WOULD BE ALLOCATED TO THE STIMU-  
LATION OF PRODUCTION.

A. AN INCREASING DEBT, WHICH INTENSIFIED IMMEDIATELY AFTER  
THE LAST AGREEMENT WITH THE IMF AND WORLD BANK, ESPE-  
CIALLY WITH THE AGREEMENT TO EXCHANGE BRADY BONDS FOR  
GLOBAL BONDS.

B. UNFAVORABLE PAYMENT CONDITIONS FOR THE COUNTRY, WITH  
APPROXIMATELY 50% OF THE ANNUAL DOMESTIC BUDGET ALLOCAT-  
ED TO DEBT SERVICE. THE VENEZUELAN CENTRAL BANK HAS AN-  
NOUNCED THE PAYMENT OF USD 13.560 BILLION ANNUALLY FOR

THE NEXT FOUR YEARS. THE PER CAPITA DEBT SERVICE IN  
VENEZUELA IS THE HIGHEST IN THE WORLD.

C. LACK OF A POLICY OF NEGOTIATION THAT SERVE THE INTERESTS  
OF THE COUNTRY. RATHER, WE HAVE NEGOTIATED THE WORST

PAYMENT TERMS OF ALL THE LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES. FOR  
EXAMPLE, IN ONE OF THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CASES: THE 13

CONTRACTS AGREED TO IN NEW YORK ON FEBRUARY 24, 1986 BY  
THEN PRESIDENT LUSINCHI, WHICH FLAGRANTLY VIOLATED THE  
SOVEREIGNTY OF THE NATION AND ILLEGALLY AND UNCONSTITU-  
TIONALLY DAMAGED THE NATIONAL PATRIMONY.

D. LACK OF INTEREST AND WILL TO CONFRONT THE PROBLEM OF THE  
FOREIGN DEBT BY THE GOVERNMENT EVEN IN SPITE OF HAVING  
BEEN URGED TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY'S INTERESTS IN THE  
DEMAND AND DENUNCIATION OF THE SWINDLE COMMITTED AGAINST  
THE REPUBLIC BY FOREIGN BANKS AND THE SUIT THAT LAN-  
GUISHES IN THE FEDERAL COURT OF NEW YORK.

THE PUR TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION IN THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS TO  
THE PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE FOREIGN DEBT THAT THERE EXIST  
SEVERAL ALTERNATIVES:

A. TO DELAY PAYMENT OF THE FOREIGN DEBT THAT HAS NOT BEEN  
RESTRUCTURED (APPROXIMATELY USD 39.225 MILLION) WHICH IS  
HELD BILATERALLY, MULTILATERALLY, BY THE CLUB OF PARIS,  
ETC., WHILE MAINTAINING THE PAYMENT OF DEBT SERVICE ON  
THE RESTRUCTURED DEBT (USD 117.677 MILLION).

B. TO DELAY PAYMENT OF THE FOREIGN DEBT THAT HAS NOT BEEN  
RESTRUCTURED, AND RENEGOTIATING THE RESTRUCTURED FOREIGN  
DEBT.

C. TO NEGOTIATE A MORATORIUM ON THE COMPONENTS OF THE  
FOREIGN DEBT (USD 126.902 MILLION).

D. TO CORRECT THE TERMS OF PAYMENT OF THE FOREIGN DEBT UP  
TO  
A LIMIT THAT WILL NOT AFFECT NOR THREATEN THE SOCIO-

ECONOMIC PLANS OF NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION.

E. TO RENEGOTIATE FORGIVENESS OF THE DEBT.  
THE TREATMENT GIVEN TO THE FOREIGN DEBT WILL DEPEND ON THE  
CHARACTER OF THE ECONOMIC MODEL AND THE MANNER IN WHICH THE  
MACROECONOMIC AND MACROSOCIAL DISEQUILIBRIA RESOLVE THEMSELVES.  
THE PUR GIVES PRIORITY TO THE PROBLEM OF THE FOREIGN DEBT  
BECAUSE, QUITE SIMPLY, THE NATION CANNOT KEEP BLEEDING ITSELF DRY  
AS IT IS NOW DOING. THE SAVINGS ON FOREIGN EXCHANGE, WHICH WOULD  
RESULT FROM THE APPLICATION OF ONE OF THESE OPTIONS, WOULD VARY.

## I. MACROECONOMIC EQUILIBRIA

THE PLANNED MACROECONOMIC POLICIES SHOULD BE SUBORDINATE TO THE

GENERAL MODEL PLAN OF DEVELOPMENT, AND THEIR ORIENTATION LEADS  
TOWARD THE PROPOSED GOALS OF THE REAL ECONOMY OF THE NATION.  
THEREFORE, THEY SHOULD BE COORDINATED WITH THE GOALS AND SECTORS  
TO WHICH THEY ARE SUBORDINATED, WITHIN THE 5 SECTOR MODEL MEN-  
TIONED ABOVE. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE MACROECONOMIC POLICIES BE  
SUBORDINATE TO MACROSOCIAL POLICIES, AS THEY ARE EFFECTS RATHER  
THAN CAUSES.

IN TERMS OF THE SO-CALLED EXCHANGE POLICIES, WE CONSIDER TO BE  
THE MOST DESIRABLE A REGULATED SYSTEM OF EXCHANGE, UNIQUE AND  
FLEXIBLE. THAT MEANS THAT CONVERTIBILITY WILL BE MAINTAINED IN  
PART, UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE CENTRAL BANK OF VENEZUELA; THE  
VALUE OF THE RATE OF EXCHANGE WOULD BE ANCHORED IN A FLEXIBLE  
SYSTEM AND THE GRANTING AUTHORITY WOULD BE CENTRALIZED.

IN THE ADOPTION OF THIS SYSTEM OF EXCHANGE, WE FIND THE FOLLOWING  
ADVANTAGES:

A. THE SYSTEM WOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE ECONOMIC PRIORITIES  
ESTABLISHED IN THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE PUR.

O. THE SPECULATIONS OF EACH ECONOMIC SECTOR MAY BE TAKEN  
INTO CONSIDERATION.

C. IT WOULD ALLOW FOR THE GROWTH OF THE POLICIES ORIENTED  
TO SUPPLYING THE INTERNAL MARKET.

D. IT WOULD GUARANTEE A BUDGET FOR FOREIGN EXCHANGE  
CONTROL AND THE CAPACITY FOR IMPORTS.

NEVERTHELESS, THE NEGATIVE CONSEQUENCES OF ADOPTING THE PLAN  
SHOULD ALSO BE CONSIDERED:

A. IT MIGHT FACILITATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF FAVORABLE INDI-  
VIDUALS IN GRANTING THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS.

B. IT COULD OPEN THE POSSIBILITY OF EXCHANGE CORRUPTION  
AND  
TO THE EMERGENCE OF A BLACK MARKET OF FOREIGN  
CURRENCY EXCHANGE.

G. IT COULD UNLEASH COMPENSATORY ACTIONS BY SOME SECTORS  
THAT CONSIDER THEMSELVES THREATENED.

BECAUSE OF THIS, POLITICAL, JUDICIAL, AND SOCIAL MEASURES MUST BE  
TAKEN IN ORDER TO MINIMIZE AND NEUTRALIZE THESE DISADVANTAGES.

IN TERMS OF FISCAL POLICY, THE RESTRUCTURING OF PUBLIC SPENDING  
SHOULD BE ORIENTED TOWARDS SELECTIVITY, IN COORDINATION WITH THE  
GOALS OF THE GENERAL PLAN AND THE SECTORAL PLAN. WE NEED AN  
INTEGRAL TAX REFORM, AS WELL AS REFORM OF THE ENTIRE SYSTEM OF  
PUBLIC FINANCE. THE REFORM SHOULD BE ORIENTED SO THAT THE  
GREATEST BURDEN OF TAXES WILL FALL AGAIN ON THOSE WHO HAVE THE  
MOST, TAX EVASION ON THE CAPITAL OF THE LARGEST ENTERPRISES  
(ABOUT 28%) AND BY BANKS WHO DO NOT FULFILL THEIR TAX PAYING DUTY  
TO THE STATE WILL BE REDUCED, AND THE ILLEGAL AMASSING OF WEALTH  
BY PUBLIC OFFICIALS WILL BE ELIMINATED. ATTENTION IS CENTERED ON  
THE OPTIMIZATION OF PUBLIC ACCOUNTS ON THE INCOME SIDE OF THE  
LEDGER, RATHER THAN IN A SIMPLE REDUCTION OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES.

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WHICH IS EXTREMELY COSTLY GIVEN THE RIGIDITY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

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WE CONSIDER THAT THE MOST FLEXIBLE AND VIABLE SOLUTION, WHICH AT THE SAME TIME HAS THE LEAST SOCIAL COST, WOULD BE TO PRESENT GOALS OF REDUCTION OF THE DEFICIT THROUGH PROGRESSIVE TAXATION AND THROUGH A REDUCTION OF EXPENDITURES, BASICALLY THE SERVICING OF THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL DEBT.

IN DETERMINING MONETARY POLICIES WE BEGIN WITH THE FOLLOWING PREMISES:

- A. MONETARY POLICY SHOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE REMAINING APPLICABLE ECONOMIC POLICIES.
- B. MONETARY POLICY IS NOT AUTONOMOUS BUT RATHER DEPENDS ON THE STRUCTURAL VISION THAT WE HAVE FOR A FULLY DEVELOPED ECONOMY.
- C. MONETARY POLICY WILL BE ESTABLISHED TEMPORARILY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE REQUIREMENTS TO BRING ABOUT MACRO-ECONOMIC STABILITY.
- D. A MIXED MONETARY POLICY WILL BE ADOPTED THAT IS RESTRICTIVE IN CASES WHEN THE CONTROL OF MONETARY MASSES IS NECESSARY. IN OTHER CASES, THE POLICIES ADOPTED WILL BE EXPANSIONARY, DEPENDING ON THE NEEDS OF THE VARIOUS SECTORS OF THE ECONOMY.
- E. THE FIXING OF THE INTEREST RATE WILL ALSO DEPEND ON A GLOBAL ANALYSIS AND ON SECTORAL NEEDS, BUT, AT ANY RATE, WOULD BE BELOW A LEVEL THAT WOULD, ON THE ONE HAND, FACILITATE THE STIMULATION OF THE PRODUCTIVE APPARATUS, AND ON THE OTHER HAND RUPTURE THE SPECULATIVE SPIRAL.

## 2. MACROSOCIAL EQUILIBRIA

THE PUR ASSIGNS A HIGH PRIORITY TO THE PROFOUND MACROSOCIAL DISEQUILIBRIA GENERATED BY THE CURRENT SAVAGE, CAPITALISTIC, ECONOMIC MODEL. WHILE THESE NEOLIBERAL POLICIES ARE FUNDAMENTALLY BASED ON THE INHUMAN MAXIM OF "THE BEST SOCIAL POLICY IS A GOOD ECONOMIC POLICY", THE PUR BEGINS WITH THE PRECEPT THAT "THE BEST SOCIAL POLICY IS THAT WHICH SATISFIES THE BASIC NEEDS OF THE POPULATION", AN INHUMAN VERSUS A HUMAN MODEL.

IN THE SO-CALLED "GREAT TURNING POINT", SOCIAL POLICY WAS PRACTICALLY NONEXISTENT, FOR IT WAS CONSIDERED A CONSEQUENCE OF ECONOMIC POLICY. IN THE GOVERNMENT'S "AGENDA VENEZUELA", SOCIAL POLICY IS COMPENSATORY, BECAUSE THE SOCIAL PROGRAM ACTS ARE DESIGNED TO LESSEN THE IMPACT OF THE SHOCK UPON THOSE WHO ARE IN THE MOST NEED.

ACCORDING TO THE PUR, SOCIAL POLICY IS MACRO IN NATURE DUE TO THE MAGNITUDE OF ITS OBJECTIVES AND HAS HIGH PRIORITY BECAUSE IT PRECEDES ECONOMIC POLICY. IT IS THE CAUSE, NOT THE EFFECT. THE PUR HAS IDENTIFIED THE PRINCIPAL AND MOST URGENT MACROSOCIAL DISEQUILIBRIA AND ANNOUNCES THE WORKING OUT OF A COMBINATION OF PLANS TO START STABILIZATION AND RECOVERY IMMEDIATELY. THESE PLANS ARE:

- A. THE NATIONAL PLAN OF EMPLOYMENT THAT GENERATES A CHAIN REACTION OF INCOME, NUTRITION, HEALTH, HOUSING, AND PRODUCTION.
- B. A RESCUE PLAN FOR SOCIAL SECURITY: DEFENSE OF SOCIAL

BENEFITS, OF REAL SALARIES, AND PENSIONS FOR THOSE WHO ARE UNEMPLOYED OR RETIRED; INTEGRAL SYSTEM OF SOCIAL SECURITY; REVIEW OF NEW LABOR LAW AND OF THE SYSTEM OF SOCIAL BENEFITS TO RETURN TO THE WORKERS THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PAST DECADES OF POPULAR STRUGGLE.

- C. AN INTEGRAL HEALTHCARE PLAN FOR ALL: RESTITUTION OF THE RIGHT TO PROPER HEALTHCARE THROUGH A BIOPHYSICAL-SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE; MEDICAL AND SANITARY INFRASTRUCTURE; SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION AND PRODUCTION OF MEDICINE; SANITARY ASSISTANCE REFORM THROUGH A NATIONAL, REGIONAL, AND LOCAL NETWORK OF PREVENTION AND TREATMENT.

- D. EMERGENCY HOUSING PLAN: CONSTRUCTION OF HOUSING SITES; INSTALLATION OF SERVICES AND OPTIMIZATION OF HOUSING; NEW DEMOGRAPHIC FOCI; SYSTEM OF MASS PUBLIC HOUSING WITH ALL NECESSARY SERVICES PROVIDED (WATER, ELECTRICITY, SEWAGE, SCHOOLS, CLINICS, TELEPHONES, TRANSPORTATION, ROADS, SECURITY, ETC.), GIVING PRIORITY TO THOSE WHO ARE MARGINALIZED OR TO YOUNG COUPLES.

- E. SPECIAL ADJUSTMENT PLAN FOR THE EQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME: PROGRESSIVE DISTRIBUTION, ELIMINATION OF THE DISTRIBUTION GAP; ECONOMIC DEMOCRACY AS AN EXERCISE OF THE NEW, SELF-CORRECTING, COOPERATIVE, HUMANIST MODEL;

NEW SYSTEM OF RELATIONSHIPS OF WORK AND CAPITAL, WHERE WORK WOULD BE THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTOR WHERE WORKERS PARTICIPATE IN THE DIVIDENDS OF PRODUCTIVITY, IN THE CITY AND IN THE COUNTRY.

- F. SOCIAL REINTEGRATION PLAN: THROUGH A NEW SYSTEM OF INTEGRATION OF CHILDREN, ADOLESCENTS, WOMEN, SENIOR CITIZENS, THE INDIGENOUS POPULATION, ETC.

- G. NATIONAL PLAN OF PUBLIC SECURITY AND PROTECTION: IN THE SHORT TERM IN THE POLICE AND JUDICIAL AREAS WITH PROGRAMS OF RAISING SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND IN THE MEDIUM TERM, THE PROGRESSIVE EFFECTS IN COORDINATION WITH THOSE PRODUCED THROUGH GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT OF MACROSOCIAL PLANS. DEMOCRATIC AND EDUCATIONAL REORGANIZATION OF THE POLICE FORCE; NEW CONCEPT OF THE ROLE OF THE POLICE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF THE CITIZENRY; RESPECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF THE DIGNITY OF PEOPLE; JUDICIAL MEASURES AGAINST THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR CIVIL MASSACRES, CORRUPT JUDGES, AND, IN GENERAL, THE REPRESSIVE POLICIES OF PAST GOVERNMENTS.

## 3. STIMULATION OF PRODUCTION

THE EIGHT PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED STRATEGIC POINTS TRANSLATE INTO AN INTERMEDIARY PRODUCTIVE MODEL. AT ITS HEART, THE ENDOGENOUS IDEAL OF THE PUR CAN BE CONDENSED AND EXPRESSED AS "GROWTH FROM WITHIN AND DEVELOPMENT FOR WITHIN". THIS PRODUCTIVE MODEL PLACES AT CENTER-STAGE THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DISMANTLING OF THE VICIOUS CIRCLES OF THE CRISIS, THROUGH THE INTRODUCTION AND POWER OF

MULTIPLE ACTIVATING AGENTS, FUNDAMENTALLY ORIENTED TOWARD INTER-MEDIARY INDUSTRIES.

THE ACTIVE AGENTS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE GREATEST WEIGHT IN THE STRUGGLE WOULD BE:

- \* THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY
- \* AGROBUSINESS AND AGROPRODUCTION

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\* SMALL AND MEDIUM INDUSTRIES

\* TOURISM

THE MODEL IS BUILT THROUGH A NETWORK OF PRODUCTIVE UNITS WITH VARIOUS DEGREES OF MAGNITUDE, COMPOSITION, AND TECHNOLOGY: FAMILY ENTERPRISES, MICROENTERPRISES, AND DIVERSE INDUSTRIALIZATION DESIGNS BASED ON THE SO-CALLED "INDUSTRIALIZING INDUSTRIES." THE INTERMEDIATE PRODUCTIVE MODEL SHOULD HAVE A LIFE OF ITS OWN. THE STIMULATION WILL ACT IN THE LONG RUN THROUGH THE PRODUCTIVE NETWORK, AND FOR THIS THE PLAN HAS THE FOLLOWING SEQUENCE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION:

A. REVITALIZATION OF THE BASIC ENDOGENOUS NUCLEUS (BASIC ENTERPRISES) SUCH AS IRON, STEEL, ALUMINUM, AND ELECTRICITY.

B. GENERATION OF DYNAMIC MOMENTUM: ELECTROMECHANICS,

METAL MECHANICS, BASIC CHEMISTRY, ENERGETIC INFRASTRUCTURE OF TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION.

C. STIMULATION OF THE NETWORK OF INTERMEDIATE PRODUCTS,

LARGE INDUSTRIAL PLANTS, SMALL AND MEDIUM ENTERPRISES,

MICROENTERPRISES, FAMILY BUSINESSES, SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CENTERS, TRADE SCHOOLS, COMMUNICATION MEDIA, GOVERNMENT PLANNING BODIES, ETC.

D. CONSOLIDATION OF AN ENDOGENOUS NUCLEUS OF TECHNOLOGICAL STIMULATION AS A JUMP TOWARD THE PROCESS OF SPECIALIZED PRODUCTION: INTERNATIONAL LEVELS OF EXCELLENCE; SOLID

ACCEPTANCE INTO REGIONAL BLOCKS AND THE WORLD ECONOMY.

THIS IS A SUMMARY OF THE ENDOGENOUS STRATEGY OF SOCIOECONOMIC GROWTH FROM WHICH WE ASPIRE TO BUILD A SOLUTION TO OUR CRISIS.

## 10. MACROECOLOGICAL EQUILIBRIUM

THE SAVING OF OUR NATURAL SURROUNDINGS AND COUNTRYSIDE REQUIRES THE URBAN DECONGESTION OF THE CENTRAL COASTAL CORE, BALANCED REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT, BORDER POLICIES THAT ARE COMPATIBLE WITH THE ECOSYSTEMS OF OUR JUNGLES, SAVANNAS, AND HYDROGRAPHIC VALLEYS, AS WELL AS LEGISLATION THAT PENALIZES THOSE WHO COMMIT ECOLOGICAL CRIMES.

WE SUPPORT THE SUSPENSION OF THE DECREE OF 1850 AND REJECT THE NATIONALIZED, ECOCIDAL AND ETHNOCIDAL CORE OF THE FINAL FORM OF THE MINING LAW AND THE CURRENT MINING POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

WE DEMAND THAT CONGRESS AND THE GOVERNMENT RATIFY CONVENTION 169 OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION AND THE APPROVAL OF THE LAW OF TOWNS, COMMUNITIES, AND INDIGENOUS CULTURES THAT WILL RESPECT THE NATIONAL, SOCIAL, AND ENVIRONMENTAL DESIRES IN THE EXPLOITATION AND ENJOYMENT OF THE COLLECTIVE HERITAGE OF OUR SOIL AND SUBSOIL.

END TEXT.

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